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THE PASSIVE VOICE IN ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN:

A CONTRASTIVE STUDY

by

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE

DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SLAVONIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

JUNE, 1966

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read,
and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for
acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Passive Voice in
English and Russian: A Contrastive Study" submitted
by Irene M. Krouse in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express her sincere thanks to her supervisor, Mr. G. Schaarschmidt, for suggesting this study and for his guidance and assistance throughout the course of the investigation. Thanks is also given to Miss N. Plypick for typing the Russian sections of the manuscript.

An Abstract of
THE PASSIVE VOICE IN ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN:
A CONTRASTIVE STUDY

The distinctive feature of voice in English and Russian is a property confined to transitive verbs. In a sentence which is unmarked for the feature of voice, the grammatical subject is the actor and the object is the recipient of the action. In the sentence which is marked passive in voice, the grammatical object is still the recipient of the action, and the agent is still the instigator, but certain overt changes have occurred in the grammatical forms serving as passive markers in the verb phrase. The agent may or may not be mentioned, and the latter is more preferable, since the chief function of using a passive construction seems to be to avoid the necessity of mentioning the agent.

Although the best method for testing the feature of voice is retransformation of passive sentences--thus producing agnate pairs, this method does not account for their actual occurrence. By taking unpaired types

of sentences (e.g., selecting both animates and inanimates as subjects and objects) and transforming or retransforming them, it was found that passive sentences possess certain constraints, e.g., animate subjects are more suitable agents of action, and a passive construction is preferable when both subject and object are inanimate.

The study has, however, been concentrated on grammatically acceptable passive constructions in both languages, and not on the frequency of their usage. For this purpose, string models were set up for each language, and the following correspondences were established for all tenses, aspects, and moods which may be used in passive constructions:

ENGLISH

NP₂ { (modal) -S } (HAVE {-N}) BE {-N} VERB + by NP₁ ↔ NP₂ nom.

RUSSIAN

{ budet
∅
by1 (by) } Ps.Pa.V perf. { pres.
past (by) } V perf. -sja + (NP₁ inst.)

Simple and Perfective Tenses ↔ Perfective Tenses

NP₂ { (modal) -S } (HAVE {-N}) BE {-ING} BE {-N} VERB+by NP₁ ↔ NP₂ + { budet + -t'
pres.
past (by) } { V imp. -sja } + (NP₁ inst.)

Simple, Progressive and Perfect Progressive ↔ Imperfective Tenses

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.0. The aim of this work is to write up complete descriptions of the passive voice in English and in Russian for the purpose of comparison. Concentration will be placed on the paradigmatic and syntagmatic levels of organization. The structural descriptions will be compiled from already existing data, but in the process of reorganization, a more accurate and specific description should evolve. Emphasis will be placed on the co-dependence of the selection and arrangement of morphological forms and their external function in a context. Thus, sentences which have traditionally been referred to as being in the 'passive voice' will be examined within a larger framework and may or may not be labelled as such.

1.1. Traditional descriptions of grammatical categories dealing with 'voice' often circumvent the issue completely, and provide no compact summary in outline form for the student of grammar who is interested in comparing the functional distribution of grammatical patterns in language. Instead, one is left with a vague notion that there is an 'active' and a

'passive' verb which has the same form,¹ or an even more confusing explanation which deliberately hampers lucidity, such as the following:

...active forms have often come to mean nearly the same things as passives of the same verbs.... The peculiarity of this use consists in the passive meaning to be attributed to the active verb which is thus notionally passive though formally active.²

Nothing, however, is indicated that the form of the verb cannot by itself show whether it is non-passive (unmarked) or passive (marked), but that only its function in a certain context or situation, i.e., its position relative to that of the other components in the sentence or to other sentences makes up the determining factor which is indicative of voice.

In order to arrive at a structural model of verbs which can function in an 'active' and a 'passive' voice, the general method of procedure for this study will be to work through several traditional descriptions and eliminate the verb forms found in certain contexts which cannot be transformed to function in the 'passive' simply because they do not function in the 'active'.³

¹Otto Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar, III (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1954), p. 299.

²Ibid., p. 350.

³Utterances which are not 'active' will be referred to as 'neutral'.

In other words, they cannot be traced back to an underlying active kernel string. Voice can adequately be determined only by the arrangement of the nouns in a sentence relative to the verb form. In an active sentence the noun which functions as the subject is the administrator of the action, and the one which functions as the object is the recipient of the action. In a passive construction, the arrangement of the subject and the object is reversed--the former object becomes the subject of the sentence, but it is still the recipient of the action, and the original subject is still the agent or instrument by whom or which the action is administered. The verb form also undergoes a transformation in structural form according to a predetermined pattern which is dependent on its original shape in the active or kernel string.

1.2. Form and function have long held a prominent importance in grammatical analysis, either individually or jointly. Traditional grammarians have concentrated on isolating and identifying the various parts of speech which are contained in a given utterance, and on this basis the notional grammatical categories became established. Immediate constituent analysis has operated from the same starting point, i.e., the immediate constituents of a sentence, but it also

applied the techniques of substitution and deletion to sequences of morphemes without affecting the grammatical relationship of the sentence. Thus, the analysts concentrated their study on function as well as on form and emphasized the importance of the relationship between grammatical categories.⁴

Two interrelated levels, paradigmatic (class membership, lexicon) and syntagmatic (grammar, arrangement) have to be studied in order to arrive at a compact structural model for verbs which will function either actively or passively, depending on their neighbouring components. The morphological units of the verb forms will be treated individually for purposes of identification, but passivity will be determined only by their external functioning and their ability to undergo the passive transformation without revoking either 'grammaticality' or 'sense' in a sentence.

⁴H. A. Gleason, Jr., Linguistics and English Grammar (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), pp. 76-87.

CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH VERB

2.0. Since the separation of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic levels of verbs would hamper the analysis, this presentation will concentrate on a separation of the above only to the extent that the form¹ will serve as a marker for identification of the grammatical categories to which the verb is subjected: mood, tense, aspect, and voice. Verbs will be treated as having independent or auxiliary status and their finite and non-finite forms will be considered, along with the modal verbs. Finally, the verb or verb group scheme will illustrate the effectiveness of markers in analysis and the interrelationship of the grammatical categories.

2.1.1. "Mood is a designation of how an act is conceived, whether as a fact, a possibility, a desirability, or a command."² Grammarians have varied in agreement

¹A free base morpheme for a verb will be written in capital letters and will be followed by a hyphen, e.g. PICK-, and its bound morphemes will be shown in the same way, but preceded by a hyphen and enclosed in braces, e.g. {-D}.

²Albert H. Marckwardt, Introduction to the English Language (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 135.

as to the actual number of moods,³ but for the present we will agree with the majority and treat the three--imperative, subjunctive, and indicative--which are usually accepted traditionally.

The imperative mood is one of command. The simple imperative form exists in the present tense and is the same uninflected form for the singular or plural, e.g. Take! Eat! Stop! However, Curme⁴ makes a case for other forms for the imperative, e.g., "subjunctive forms in commands," but it would be much simpler to consider that the verb of the imperative mood has either the forms of the present indicative or the present subjunctive, and its contextual usage will determine its imperative function.

The subjunctive mood does not belong to the sphere of factual reality; it is strictly a possibility, a

³Marckwardt, op. cit., claims that there are four moods, the indicative, subjunctive, imperative and infinitive, but the majority claim only the indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative moods.

⁴George O. Curme, English Grammar (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1947), pp. 249-251.

binary separation into marked and unmarked categories cannot be employed when three moods (imperative, subjunctive, and indicative) have to be considered. Taking into consideration the fact that Markwardt⁹ informs us that the recognized moods in language have varied from time to time, and that he himself prefers to admit four but then avoids treating the infinitive along with the others and relegates it to the non-finite verb forms, a different solution presents itself. His method of dispensation provides a clue for a binary division of the three accepted moods.

Since the imperative forms function either indicatively or subjunctively, the mood will be marked as one of the latter. Then, a second division may mark it imperative or leave it unspecified. The following quotation from Jespersen shows how close he came to the binary system of division, but yet was not willing to set it up as such:

⁹Markwardt, op. cit., p. 135.

The English verb has three moods, Indicative, Subjunctive and Imperative--the Infinitive and the Participles, which are often reckoned among the moods, stand apart and form categories of their own. But the three moods...are not kept distinct in English.... The imperative, like the infinitive, has the same form as the base of the verb, and the same is true of the present indicative (except the third person singular) and of the whole of the present subjunctive. These may therefore be considered various functions of the same form.¹⁰

2.1.2. The grammatical category of tense has been devised to correspond to the dimension of time. Theoretically, time is capable of division into only two parts--past and future. The line of demarcation, the present, is referred to as having zero length. In actual grammatical use, however, the present has a finite length, i.e., a length of time which indicates the action in progress or the state of existence now. In sentences like The earth rotates on its axis; and I am writing a letter; the forms of the verb are marked present. To claim, however, that the tense of the first sentence is 'simple present' is rather pointless, when several aspects are inherent. The time in this sentence is really insignificant, i.e., it is all-inclusive--a boundless past, the moment of the present, and an eternal future. In the second sentence the action

¹⁰Jespersen, loc. cit.

may be concurrent with the utterance; it has been going on previously (limited past) and will go on for some time in the future, until the act is finished.¹¹

The relationship between tense and aspect is an extremely close one. The perfect (marked) and non-perfect (unmarked) temporal characteristics of verbs are superimposed on the simple and expanded present and past tense forms.¹² The other 'tense' in English, the future, which is made up of the simple or expanded zero present forms, may show the marked (perfect) or unmarked (non-perfect) aspects and has a modal verb (usually will or shall) in the initial position of the verb phrase. Because of its inability to function as a future tense without this future modal verb, and the fact that the zero form of the following verb (either the auxiliary or full verb) is used, moves it from the sphere of reality and into the sphere of unreality.¹³ Holden, in his substantial treatment of

¹¹R. A. Close, English as a Foreign Language (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 80-86.

¹²F. R. Palmer, A Linguistic Study of the English Verb (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1965), p. 69.

¹³Ibid.

the interdependence of tense and aspect, says the following about the future tense:

The future forms...express the supplementary subjective attitude of the speaker. This is possible, in fact inevitable, inasmuch as the future forms cannot reflect reality, as do those of the present and past, but must confine themselves to signifying varying degrees of assurance, volition, or probability of the event's occurrence in the future.¹⁴

The future tenses are, however, treated in all traditional paradigms of verbs¹⁵ on the same level as those of the present and past, even though the latter belong to the sphere of 'reality' and the former belong to the sphere of 'unreality.' As such, we are obliged to go back to the two possible moods, the indicative (the real or fact mood) and the subjunctive (the mood of unreality) and see where the 'future tense' belongs. Obviously, the future tense belongs to the subjunctive mood, rather than to the indicative, as its verbal construction is the same as is found in the regular subjunctive forms. Just as the subjunctive can also be identified not by its form but by its contextual

¹⁴Kyril T. Holden, A Contrastive Study of the Russian and English Aspectual Categories (Edmonton: University of Alberta unpublished M. A. dissertation, 1965), p. 41.

¹⁵John Millington-Ward, The Use of Tenses in English (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1954), p. 18, Appendix II.

marker,¹⁶ the future tense may also have a similar function contextually, although its form is not that of the future. In the sentences I give a performance and I am giving a performance; the verbs are marked present. If a contextual marker is added, e.g., tomorrow or next week, the meaning is future even though the form is still that of the present.

2.1.3. Since the following chapter will treat the passive voice in considerable detail, this section will merely describe its superficial form and function and show its connection with the previously described grammatical categories. Hockett summarizes the distinctive feature of voice in the following way:

Voice distinctions apply to verbs, and have to do with the relationship between the subject and the verb, the verb and its object, or the verb and some other noun tied to it in an intimate way.¹⁷

It has been traditionally accepted that the verb has two voices, either active or passive, and that the markers of the passive verb are $BE \{-N\}$ e.g. $X_1 BE \{-N\} X_2$.

¹⁶The contextual marker may be indicative of unreality as well, see p. 7 of this thesis.

¹⁷Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1958), p. 236.

In examining the traditional paradigms of 'active' and 'passive' verbs, however, the 'activity' or 'passivity' of the verbs is irrelevant; the marker of the passive voice BE {-N} is used to draw attention to the recipient of the action, who/which is also the nominal subject of the sentence. As mentioned in Chapter I, not all verbs can function passively in a sentence. When they do, they are marked as such: BE {-N}; otherwise, the voice is left unmarked because there is really no need to indicate whether it is 'active' or simply 'neutral' in the category of voice. Chapter III will deal with those which are marked passive, and they can only be marked as such if they contain the passive marker BE {-N} and can be retransformed into an active sentence in which the subject of the passive sentence becomes the object of the active one, and the meaning remains the same.

Voice intersects each of the previously mentioned grammatical categories¹⁸ and if the verb in a sentence is such that the object of the active sentence becomes the subject in the passive construction without jeopardizing the meaning, then a corresponding passive form of the

¹⁸The imperative, of course, cannot function passively, which is another argument which can be presented for its reclassification.

verb is constructed by the employment of the passive marker BE {-N}.

To summarize, the interdependent categories of mood, tense and aspect, and voice are evident only if they are marked in a way which is specific of a certain mood, tense and aspect, or voice. Otherwise, the markers are absent if the need for specification is unnecessary. "The absence of a category [marker] does not specify the presence of its opposite, but only leaves the matter unspecified."¹⁹

2.2. The majority of verbs in English are full verbs. The full verb²⁰ has four basic affixes, {-S}, {-ING}, {-N}, and {-D}, but only the finite forms function independently. {-S} exhibits four allomorphs: /Ø/ and /-s~-z~-iz/ (the latter three will simply be referred to as the -s form in this thesis). The zero morph may be counted twice, once as a finite form and once as the infinitive form, in which case it is always preceded by to. Finite and non-finite forms of the verb GIVE are illustrated herewith:

¹⁹H. A. Gleason, Jr., An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1955), p. 235.

²⁰Palmer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

	FINITE	NON-FINITE
present tense	{-S} → give - \emptyset give - <u>s</u>	participle {-ING} giving
past tense	{-D} → gave	participle {-N} given

2.2.1. When an infinitive occurs in a verb phrase after another full verb, the latter is referred to as a catenative.²¹ Catenatives are full verbs and as such have finite and non-finite forms. There are many catenatives, the following are but a few examples: WANT, LIKE, WISH, NEED, HAVE, and BE. The marker which distinguishes a full catenative verb from a modal is its use of the s form in the third person singular, e.g.

CATENATIVES: He wishes to go home.
 {-S} VERB +to+ VERB

He needs to go home.
 {-S} VERB +to+ VERB

He likes to read books.
 {-S} VERB +to+ VERB

HAVE and BE may function either a full, catenative, or as auxiliary verbs, e.g.

²¹Palmer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

BE is the auxiliary verb in each of the sentences above (the combination of BE {-N} marks each sentence passive in voice). The last example is archaic usage, but it is still functional and should thus be included into the finite scheme of the auxiliary verb BE.²²

The other forms of the auxiliary BE are used in the imperfect (continuous or progressive) tenses, e.g.

He <u>is going home.</u> {-S} BE {-ING} VERB	<u>INDICATIVE</u> present progressive
He <u>was going home.</u> {-D} BE {-ING} VERB	past progressive

The perfect auxiliary, HAVE, is used in much the same way except that it renders the action completed, e.g.

He <u>will have given the concert.</u> modal {S} HAVE {-N} VERB	<u>SUBJUNCTIVE</u> future perfect
He <u>will have been given a book.</u> modal {S} HAVE {-N} BE {-N} VERB	future perf. passive
He <u>would have given me the book.</u> modal {S} HAVE {-N} VERB	conditional perfect
I <u>would have been given the book.</u> modal {S} HAVE {-N} BE {-N} VERB	cond. perf. passive

²² Martin Joos, The English Verb (Madison and Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), p. 88.

TABLE I

VERB	FINITE	NON-FINITE
BE +	am are <u>∅</u> be {-S} → is <u>-s</u> {-D} → was were	∅ be {-ING} being {-N} been
HAVE +	{-S} → have <u>-∅</u> has <u>-s</u> {-D} → had	AUXILIARY ∅ have {-ING} having
TAKE +	{-S} → take <u>-∅</u> takes <u>-s</u> {-D} → took	∅ take {-ING} taking {-N} taken
GIVE +	{-S} → give <u>-∅</u> gives <u>-s</u> {-D} → gave	FULL ∅ give {-ING} giving {-N} given
	will * shall * can may would should ought to could might must	MODAL * Future Modals

necessary auxiliary for negative and interrogative transformations. Joos presents an excellent description of the function of the "meaningless DO."²⁶ Briefly, he claims that its use is a necessary word-order device employed in transforming assertive statements into negative or interrogative ones, e.g.

He asked her a question. He knows the answer.
 {-D} VERB {-S} VERB

Interrogative Transformation:

Did he ask her a question? Does he know the answer?
 {-D} DO VERB {-S} DO VERB

Negative Transformation:

He did not ask her a question.
 {-D} DO + not + VERB

He does not know the answer.
 {-S} DO + not + VERB

Interrogative and Negative Transformation:

Did he not ask her a question?
 {-D} DO +not + VERB

Does he not know the answer?
 {-S} DO +not + VERB

²⁶Joos, op. cit., p. 59.

As such, DO can be classed as an auxiliary verb of the negative/interrogative transformations and is necessary in those performed on the simple present and simple past tenses.

DARE and NEED may have full (catenative) verb status in assertive sentences, e.g.

He <u>needs</u> a book. {-S} VERB	He <u>dares</u> you <u>to speak</u> . {-S} VERB +to + VERB
--------------------------------------	--

and as such they can undergo the interrogative and negative transformations:

Interrogative Transformation:

Does he <u>need</u> a book? {-S} DO VERB	Does he <u>dare</u> you <u>to speak</u> ? {-S} DO VERB +to+VERB
---	---

Negative Transformation:

He does not need a book.
 {-S} DO +not+VERB

He does not dare you to speak.
 {-S} DO + not + VERB

Interrogative and Negative Transformation:

Does he not need a book?
 {-S} DO + not + VERB

Does he not dare you to speak?
 {-S} DO + not + VERB

Both DARE and NEED, however, may be used in the subjunctive mood (negative transformation), in which case they could be classed as modals, but this usage is not extensive, e.g.

He <u>dare not go...</u>	He <u>need not accompany me...</u>
modal + not + {S} VERB	modal + not + {S} VERB

Applying the principle of substitution to the modal SHOULD, we find that OUGHT TO as one unit may be inserted without any change in meaning, e.g.

He <u>should go</u> home now.	He <u>ought to go</u> home now.
modal {S} VERB	modal {S} VERB

By regarding OUGHT + TO as one indivisible unit, it can be interchangeable with the modal SHOULD, and as such may itself be classed as a modal.

USED is the doubtful modal.²⁷ Taking into consideration the fact that modals do not require the transformational auxiliary DO for negation or inversion, we find that USED is really {-D}USE and as such is a full verb (catenative), used in its {-D} form to indicate a former, habitual action.

2.5. Table II shows the correlation of mood, tense, aspect, and voice, and the possible verb phrase

²⁷Palmer, op. cit., p. 39.

combinations. It must be pointed out again, however, that although the distinctive feature of voice in the verb phrase is marked by BE {-N}, a very necessary syntagmatic rearrangement of subject and object is also involved--a change which would not alter the meaning. All the verb phrase patterns shown in Table II may be combined into the following formula, where {-S} represents a zero form after a modal or in a marked subjunctive mood and an -s form otherwise, {-D} is the past tense marker, and {-ING} and {-N} are those of the present and past participle markers respectively. If an infinitive is joined to the verb phrase by a catenative verb, to precedes the verb base. The verb phrase model may repeat itself, if necessary.

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} \{ \text{(modal)} \quad -S \\ \quad \quad -D \} \end{array} \left(\text{HAVE } \{-N\} \right) \left(\text{BE } \{-ING\} \right) \left(\text{BE } \{-N\} \right) \text{VERB} \right] + \left(\text{to/-} \begin{array}{c} \{ \text{VERB} \\ \text{BASE} \} \end{array} \right)^{28}$$

2.5.1. The above formula may be applied in the following way for verb phrase analysis of assertive sentences. The matrix will show the categories which

²⁸This formula combines some of the ideas presented by Joos, op. cit., pp. 53; 101; and Palmer, op. cit., p. 56.

TABLE II

MD.	T.	ASPECT	VCE.		
				-S + VERB	Simple Present
			M	-S + BE {-N} + VERB	Simple Pres. Passive
		M		-S + BE {-ING} + VERB	Present Continuous
			M	-S + BE {-ING} + BE {-N} + VERB	Pres. Cont. Passive
		M		-S + HAVE {-N} + VERB	Present Perfect
			M	-S + HAVE {-N} + BE {-N} + VERB	Pres. Perfect Passive
	M			-S + HAVE {-N} + BE {-ING} + VERB	Pres. Perf. Continuous
			M	-S + HAVE {-N} + BE {-ING} + BE {-N} + VERB	Pres. Perf. Cont. Pass.
				-D + VERB	Simple Past
			M	-D + BE {-N} + VERB	Simple Past. Passive
		M		-D + BE {-ING} + VERB	Past Continuous
			M	-D + BE {-ING} + BE {-N} + VERB	Past Cont. Passive
		M		-D + HAVE {-N} + VERB	Past Perfect
			M	-D + HAVE {-N} + BE {-N} + VERB	Past Perf. Passive
	M			-D + HAVE {-N} + BE {-ING} + VERB	Past Perf. Continuous
			M	-D + HAVE {-N} + BE {-ING} + BE {-N} + VERB	Past Perf. Cont. Pass.
				modal + -S + VERB	Simple Future
			M	modal + -S + BE {-N} + VERB	Simple Fut. Passive
		M		modal + -S + BE {-ING} + VERB	Future Continuous
			M	modal + -S + BE {-ING} + BE {-N} + VERB	Fut. Cont. Passive
		M		modal + -S + HAVE {-N} + VERB	Perfect Future
			M	modal + -S + HAVE {-N} + BE {-N} + VERB	Perf. Fut. Passive
	M			modal + -S + HAVE {-N} + BE {-ING} + VERB	Perf. Fut. Cont.
			M	modal + -S + HAVE {-N} + BE {-ING} + BE {-N} + VERB	Perf. Fut. Cont. Pass.
				modal + -S + VERB	Conditional
			M	modal + -S + BE {-N} + VERB	Conditional Passive
				modal + -S + BE {-ING} + VERB	Cond. Progressive
		M		modal + -S + BE {-ING} + BE {-N} + VERB	Cond. Prog. Passive
				modal + -S + HAVE {-N} + VERB	Cond. Perfect
		M		modal + -S + HAVE {-N} + BE {-N} + VERB	Cond. Perf. Passive
	M			modal + -S + HAVE {-N} + BE {-ING} + VERB	Cond. Perf. Prog.
			M	modal + -S + HAVE {-N} + BE {-ING} + BE {-N} + VERB	Cond. Perf. Cont. Prog. Pass.

are marked for mood, tense, aspect, and voice, using the numbers 1-8, as follows:²⁹

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
modal	Ø, -s	-D	HAVE {-N}	BE {-ING}	BE {-N}	VERB	(to/-VERB)
MOOD	TENSE		ASPECT		VOICE		

In the above scheme, only one of either blocks 2 or 3 can be filled, and block 2 must be filled when block 1 is filled. (When either one is filled, the other is regarded as non-existent (X).) Block 8 is a device for repetition or continuation of a verb phrase. (1) indicates that the position is filled, and (0) indicates that it is empty.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
0	1	x	1	0	0	1	0	I have written the letter.
0	x	1	0	1	0	1	0	I was writing the letter.
0	1	x	1	1	0	1	0	I have been writing the letter.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	John kicks the ball.
0	1	x	0	0	1	1	0	The ball is kicked by John.
0	x	1	1	1	1	1	0	John had been being scolded by Mary.
0	1	x	0	1	0	1	0	I'm working at the moment.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	He walked to to the station.
0	x	1	0	1	0	1	0	He was walking to the station.

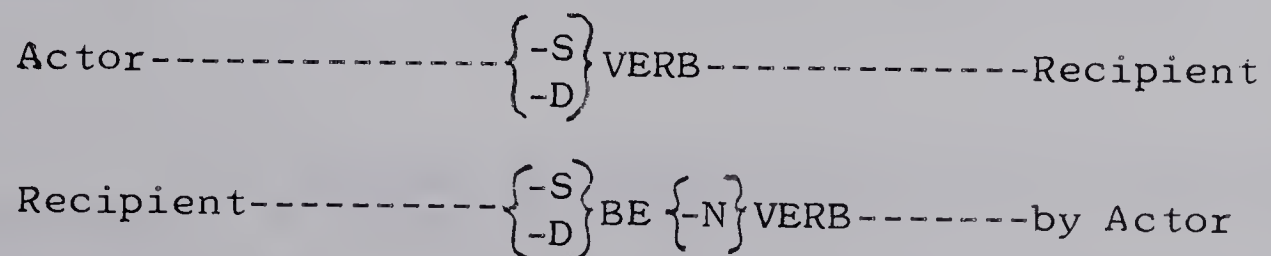
²⁹Joos, op. cit., pp. 81; 101, makes use of a similar matrix, but uses fewer categories and different markers.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	The wind blew the tree down.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	The tree was blown down by the wind.
0	1	x	0	0	1	1	0	He's been killed.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	He was hurt in the crash.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	Mr. Smith was killed by a car.
0	1	x	1	0	0	1	0	The birds have eaten the strawberries.
0	1	x	1	0	0	1	0	The doctors have examined him.
0	1	x	1	0	1	1	0	He has been examined by the doctors.
0	1	x	1	1	0	1	0	The doctors have been examining him.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	He says he likes it.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	He said he liked it.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	
0	1	x	0	1	0	1	0	He says he's reading.
0	1	x	0	1	0	1	0	
0	x	1	0	1	0	1	0	He says he was reading.
0	1	x	1	1	0	1	0	I've been reading for an hour.
0	1	x	1	0	0	1	0	I've finished my homework.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	I painted the house this morning.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	1	I want to read.
1	1	x	0	0	0	1	1	He must go home now.
1	1	x	0	0	0	1	1	He will have to go home now.
1	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	He will finish his work soon.
1	1	x	1	1	0	1	0	He would have been giving his lecture today.

CHAPTER III

THE PASSIVE VOICE IN ENGLISH

3.0. In examining the table on p. 24 of this thesis, we find that with the exception of voice, the verb phrases have completely identical underlying structures. Those which are marked for voice are passive, but the passivity is not directed at the verb phrase itself. In the unmarked sentence, the grammatical subject is the actor and the object is the recipient. In the marked sentence, it is still the actor, but its primary importance in the sentence has been displaced by the rearrangement of word-order. In fact, the actor may completely disappear in sentences which are marked passive when the sentence is lengthy and knowledge of the performer of the action is irrelevant. The following sketch illustrates the above:



3.1. As the preceding diagram indicates, the passive sentence may have two markers. The one which is always present is the BE $\{-N\}$ marker of the verb phrase;

the syntactic marker by must be placed immediately before the actor, if the actor is indicated.¹

3.2. Only sentences which can undergo the passive transformation from underlying active ones may truly be labelled passive. In turn, each passive transformation should have its converse, without involving a change in meaning. This is strictly a grammatical process, "a manipulation which works on the grammatical structure and converts one member of the pair into the other."² The basic relationship between a marked passive sentence and its unmarked converse may be described as "agnate."³ However, it is the converse of the passive sentence, i.e., the active sentence, which must be taken as the kernel sentence.⁴ Otherwise, if the "active transformation" is applied to sentences which traditional grammar has labelled as "passive in meaning," "passival," or as "having a vague passive meaning clinging to them,"⁵ the resulting sentences may be

¹H. Poutsma, A Grammar of Late Modern English, II (Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1926), p. 93.

²Gleason, Linguistics and English Grammar, pp. 198-199.

³Ibid.

⁴Noam Chomsky, Syntactic Structures (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1957), pp. 79-80.

⁵Poutsma, op. cit., pp. 64; 135.

rather impossible, even though they contain a degree of grammaticalness.⁶ For proper conversions of active sentences, several operations are carried out in the transformation, i.e., the interchange of subject and object, and the insertion of BE {-N} within the verb phrase along with by as a verbal adjunct (if it is necessary or desirable to express the actor).

3.2.1. Thus, sentences which may be structurally analyzed as consisting of four parts, e.g.

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS: NP - Aux - V - NP⁷

may undergo the passive transformation (where X_1 = NP, the agent of the action in the active sentence;

X_2 = Aux, which includes the components of the verb phrase--modal, tense and aspect markers; X_3 = V, the verb base; and X_4 = NP, the recipient of the action).

Therefore:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{NP}_1\text{-Aux-V-NP}_2 & \longrightarrow & \text{NP}_2\text{-Aux + BE \{-N\}-V - by + NP}_1 \\ \text{X}_1\text{-X}_2\text{-X}_3\text{-X}_4 & \longrightarrow & \text{X}_4\text{-X}_2\text{ + BE \{-N\}-X}_3\text{- by + X}_1 \end{array}$$

This transformation, however, cannot simply be applied to any NP-Aux-V-NP sentence structures. Chomsky

⁶Chomsky, op. cit., p. 78.

⁷Ibid., p. 43.

puts the following restrictions on the application of the passive marker $BE \{-N\}$:

...The fact that be+en requires a transitive verb, that it cannot occur before $V + NP$, that it must occur before $V + by + NP$ (where V is transitive), that it inverts the order of the surrounding noun phrases, is in each case an automatic consequence of [the passive transformation].... This rule thus leads to a considerable simplification of the grammar.... It requires reference to the constituent structure of the string to which it applies and it carries out an inversion on this string in a structurally determined manner.⁸

3.3. In order to arrive at a syntagmatic model structure whose strings fulfill the requirements of NP_1 -Aux-V- NP_2 and may undergo the passive transformation NP_2 -Aux+ $BE \{-N\}$ -V-by+ NP_1 , sentences have been compiled from various sources,⁹ some of which have labelled them 'active, passive, passive in meaning, or passival'. The data will be separated into marked and unmarked categories for voice. The unmarked sentences will be examined according to their verbal structure and their ability to undergo the passive transformation. It must be pointed out, however, that a certain subjectivity

⁸Chomsky, loc. cit.

⁹Poutsma, op. cit.; Chomsky, op. cit.; Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar; E. Kruisinga, A Handbook of Present-Day English (Utrecht: Kemink en zoon, 1925); Paul Roberts, English Sentences (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962); C. C. Fries, American English Grammar (New York: Appleton-Centruy-Crofts, Inc., 1940).

will have to be employed in the final decision with regard to the selection and arrangement of the major constituent structures in a sentence, or as Chomsky states: "...that we generalize the grammatical-ungrammatical dichotomy, developing a notion of degree of grammaticalness."¹⁰ Finally, the distinctive features of agnate sentences will be compiled and a syntagmatic model whose kernel strings may be transformed passively will be constructed.

3.3.1. The following sentences are presented as data for discussion:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	1. The bird sings.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	2. Birds sang.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	3. The lions growled.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	4. The door opened.
0	x	1	1	1	0	1	0	5. She had been staying at home.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	6. The bird sang beautifully.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	7. The boy went away.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	8. The train stopped.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	9. John was drunk by midnight.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	10. The apple fell from the tree.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	11. My hat blew off.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	12. It was raining.

¹⁰Chomsky, op. cit., p. 36.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	13. This tea is hot.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	14. He was happy.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	15. The room is nice.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	16. The sponge is wet.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	17. I am unhappy.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	18. She remained my closest friend.
0	x	1	1	0	0	1	0	19. Maggie had fallen in love.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	20. The cat was on the prowl.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	21. The book sells well.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	1	22. Every man likes to flirt with a pretty girl.
0	1	x	1	1	0	1	1	23. They have been trying to locate him.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	24. The pie tastes good.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	25. He looked sad.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	26. The boy grew tall.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	27. Rover sniffed cautiously.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	28. The beetle died quietly.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	29. The fruit is eatable.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	30. We hoped to see him.
1	1	x	0	0	0	1	1	31. I shall hope to see you soon.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	32. It weighs three pounds.
0	1	x	1	0	0	1	0	33. I have been sick for a year.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	34. She became a movie star.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	35. The boy remained my friend.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
0	1	x	0	1	0	1	0	36. The books are selling well.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	37. It costs two shillings.
0	1	x	1	0	0	1	0	38. His father has had an accident.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	39. I have many shares in this company.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	40. He has very bad health.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	41. Sally rubbed her nose.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	42. John plays golf.
0	x	1	0	1	0	1	0	43. He was learning Russian.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	1	44. The airplane is destined to play a very great part.
0	x	1	1	0	0	1	0	45. We had talked it over.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	46. They directed me to return.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	47. Mary loves John.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	48. The sponge absorbed the water.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	49. The man struck the bear.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	50. He closed the door.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	51. They shot a moose.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	52. John ate the pie.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	1	53. They attempted to form a new plan.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	54. The man shot the wolf.
0	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	55. Birds eat worms.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	56. John antagonized his friends.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	57. He offered the girl a gold watch.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	58. I asked him a question.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	59. I taught him a trick.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	60. He struck the table a heavy blow.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	61. He promised his son a bicycle.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	62. John handed me a note.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	63. I gave this knife to my brother.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	64. He bought his grandfather some dancing shoes.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	65. He dedicated the book to his father.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	66. He told us his troubles.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	67. They gave me a book.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	68. He has written you this letter.
1	1	x	0	0	0	1	0	69. Somebody should show him the way.
1	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	70. The man gave the boy money.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	71. George gave me a pencil.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	72. The man gave his son a car.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	73. Henry bought his mother some flowers.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	74. I wrote my sister a letter.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	75. We sent them the money.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	76. My uncle found me a job.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	77. We sent the servant for the doctor.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	78. He found a match in his coat pocket.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	79. He accused her of theft.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	80. He aimed the chestnut at me.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	81. They told me that he would come.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	1	82. They requested him to withdraw his claim.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	83. We thought him a coward.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	84. My uncle considered me a fool.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	85. My uncle considered me foolish.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	86. He thought her an angel.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	87. He thought her angelic.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	88. The principal called my brother a genius.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	89. They elected my brother their president.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	90. The club chose Sam secretary.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	91. They voted Edith the most popular girl.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	92. They made him the scapegoat.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	93. The mayor appointed Jorgenson coroner.
0	x	1	0	0	0	1	0	94. We elected him president.
1	1	x	1	0	0	1	0	95. They should not have chosen Morrison their spokesman.
0	1	x	0	0	1	1	0	96. The key has been found.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	97. The doctor was sent for.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	98. The train was stopped by the engineer.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	99. The candle was blown out.
1	1	x	0	0	1	1	0	100. The fruit may be eaten.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	101. The Indians were surrounded by the English.
0	1	x	1	0	1	1	0	102. He has been discharged by the army.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	103. The top of the mountain was reached by ten o'clock.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	104. This photo was taken by my brother.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	105. The cause was taken up with great enthusiasm.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	106. The door was painted a different colour.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	107. I was directed to return.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	108. He was mistaken for someone else.
0	1	x	0	0	1	1	0	109. Rye is sown in autumn.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	110. He was promised something good.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	111. He was promised consideration.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	112. He was struck a heavy blow.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	113. He was envied his luck.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	114. He was kissed good-night.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	115. He was allowed ten shillings a day.
0	1	x	0	0	1	1	0	116. He is believed to be an honest man.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	117. The Lord Mayor was accorded a mixed reception.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	118. The book was brought to him.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	119. He was shown the way.
0	x	1	0	0	1	1	0	120. He was awarded the prize.

3.3.2. As stated previously, the passive transformation may not be applied to a string unless its structure pattern is NP-Aux-V-NP. Furthermore, certain requirements have to be met¹¹ or the resulting

¹¹Chomsky, op. cit., p. 78.

transform will be grammatically or semantically invalid. The passive transformation may not be applied to sentences 1-40, even though some of them meet the superficial structural requirements.

Many kernel sentences may be derived from a syntagmatic model structure when $S \longrightarrow NP + VP$ where

$$NP \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{proper noun} \\ \text{indefinite pronoun} \\ \text{Det.} + N \end{array} \right\}$$

$$N \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{common noun} \\ \text{personal pronoun} \end{array} \right\}$$

$$\text{common noun} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{count} \\ \text{non-count} \end{array} \right\}$$

and

$$VP \longrightarrow \text{Aux} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{be} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{substantive} \\ \text{Adv. place} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{VI} \\ \text{VT} + NP \\ \text{Vb} + \text{substantive} \\ \text{Vs} + \text{Adj.} \\ \text{Vh} + NP \end{array} \right\} + (\text{Adv. manner})$$

$$\text{Aux} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{modal}) \quad -S \\ \quad \quad \quad -D \end{array} \right\} (\text{HAVE } \{-N\}) (\text{BE } \{\text{ING}\}) \text{VERB } (\text{to/-VERB})$$

$$VP \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} Vt_1 \\ Vt_2 \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{particle} \\ \text{complement} \end{array} \right) + NP \end{array} \right\} + (\text{Adv. manner})^{12}$$

¹²Paul Roberts, English Syntax (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), pp. 395-397.

Those to which the passive transformation may be applied, however, are all contained in the simple string NP + Aux + V + NP which may be expanded in the following way, and into which most of the data sentences may be fitted:

$$\begin{array}{c}
 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{proper noun} \\ \text{indefinite pronoun} \\ \text{Det. + N} \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(modal) -S} \\ \text{-D} \end{array} \right\} \left(\text{HAVE \{-N\}} \right) \left(\text{BE \{ING\}} \right) V_t + \\
 \hline
 \text{NP}_1 \qquad \qquad \qquad + \text{Aux} \qquad \qquad \qquad + \text{V} \\
 \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{Prt.} \\ \text{Comp.} \end{array} \right) \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{proper noun} \\ \text{indefinite pronoun} \\ \text{Det. + N} \end{array} \right) + \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{proper noun} \\ \text{indefinite pronoun} \\ \text{Det. + N} \end{array} \right) + \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{Adv.} \\ \text{manner} \end{array} \right) \\
 \hline
 \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad + \text{NP}_2 \\
 \hline
 \end{array}$$

3.3.3. The first forty sentences in our data may not be transformed into the passive voice simply because they do not contain a transitive verb. These sentences were not, however, included deliberately, but were taken from sources which labelled them 'passive' or 'active.' Voice is not distinctive in any of these sentences as their verbs are not transitive. They belong to the other rewrites of the VP, as listed on p. 37 of this work, e.g.

be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{substantive} \\ \text{Adv. place} \end{array} \right\}$

Sentences: 9, 12, 13, 14,
15, 16, 17, 20,
29, 33.

VI

Sentences: 1, 2, 3, 4,
5, 6, 7, 8,
10, 11, 19, 21,
22, 23, 27, 28,
30, 31, 36.

Vb + substantive	Sentences: 18, 34, 35.
Vs + Adj.	Sentences: 24, 25, 26.
Vh + NP	Sentences: 32, 37, 38, 39, 40.

The passive transformation may be applied to each of the sentences from 41-95, although some of them seem rather awkward in the passive. Applying the passive transformation to 42,¹³ we obtain Golf is played by John--a sentence which is grammatically acceptable and semantically identical with 42, even though it is somewhat unusual. Sentences 41-56 may be transformed into the passive voice in exactly the same way. In sentences of this type, by + NP₁ is usually retained in the transform, although it need not be.

Sentences 57-95 have a more complex structure.¹⁴ When the passive transformation is applied, by + NP₁ is often omitted, since the main function of the passive voice is to avoid the specification of the actor.¹⁵

¹³
$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{John plays golf} & \longrightarrow & \text{Golf is played by John.} \\ \text{NP}_1 + \text{Aux} + \text{V} + \text{NP}_2 & \longrightarrow & \text{NP}_2 + \text{Aux-BE} \{-N\} \text{V} + \text{by} + \text{NP}_1 \end{array}$$

¹⁴ They make use of one or more of the optional elements shown in the syntagmatic model on p. 38 of this thesis.

¹⁵ Palmer, op. cit., p. 65.

Sentences 57-76 contain what has traditionally been called an indirect object (dative) and a direct object (accusative). The application of the passive transformation to these sentences is rather complicated, but it may be done in either of two ways:

(a) The indirect object may be joined to the verb by means of a particle (one of the optional elements on p. 38 of this thesis), e.g. 77. George gave-to-me a pencil; and the application of the passive transformation would make the direct object the subject of the transform, e.g. A pencil was given to me by George. Other examples are shown in detail:

64. He bought-for-his-grandfather some dancing shoes \longrightarrow
 $NP_1 + Aux + V + (prt.) + NP_x \quad + NP_2 \quad \longrightarrow$

Some dancing shoes were bought for his grandfather by him.
 $NP_2 \quad + Aux \ BE \ \{-N\} \ V \ (prt.) \ NP_x \quad + \text{by} + NP_1$

75. We sent-to-them the money \longrightarrow
 $NP_1 + Aux + V + (prt) \ (NP_x) \ + \ NP_2 \ \longrightarrow$

The money was sent to them by us.
 $NP_2 \quad + \text{Aux} \ BE \ \{-N\} \ V \ (prt) \ NP_x \ + \ \text{by} + NP_1$

(b) The alternative method would be to place the indirect object as the subject of the transform, in which case it would not be necessary to assume the optional particle. Further complications occur in the transposition of NP_1 and NP_2 , since it is NP_x

which we wish to work with. Even if an optional context-sensitive rule permitted us to transpose NP_x instead of NP_2 if both were present, the transform would not be acceptable in all cases, e.g.

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 67. \text{ They gave me a book} & \longrightarrow & \text{I was given a book by them.} \\
 \hline
 NP_1 +Aux +V+NP_x+NP_2 & \longrightarrow & NP_x +Aux+BE \{-N\} V +NP_2+by +NP_1 \\
 \hline
 X_1 \quad -X_2 \quad -X_3 \quad -X_4 \quad -X_5 & \longrightarrow & X_4 \quad -X_2+BE \{-N\} -X_3-X_5 \quad +by-X_1
 \end{array}$$

but:

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 64. \text{ He bought his grandfather some dancing shoes} & \longrightarrow & \\
 \hline
 NP_1 +Aux+V+(NP_x) & + NP_2 & \longrightarrow \\
 \hline
 X_1 \quad -X_2 \quad -X_3 \quad -X_4 & -X_5 & \longrightarrow
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 * \text{His grandfather was bought some dancing shoes by him.} & & \\
 \hline
 -NP_x & +Aux + BE \{-N\} V +NP_2 & +by-NP_1 \\
 \hline
 X_4 & -X_2 +BE \{-N\} X_3 -X_5 & +by-X_1
 \end{array}$$

or:

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 74. \text{ I wrote my sister a letter} & \longrightarrow & \\
 \hline
 NP_1 +Aux +V+NP_x & + NP_2 & \longrightarrow \\
 \hline
 X_1 \quad -X_2 \quad -X_3 \quad -X_4 & -X_5 & \longrightarrow
 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
 * \text{My sister was written a letter by me.} & & \\
 \hline
 NP_x & +Aux+BE \{-N\} +V -NP_2 & + by NP_1 \\
 \hline
 X_4 & -X_2 +BE \{-N\} +X_3 -X_5 & + by-X_1
 \end{array}$$

Both of the last two transforms are grammatically unacceptable, although that of 67 was quite adequate. Therefore, the former method is preferable in transforming sentences which contain both direct and indirect objects. In dealing with a sentence of this type, e.g. John gave Mary a book; Roberts says the following:

...Still another transformation produces a structure in which the indirect object appears as subject of the passive transform: "Mary was given the book." This transformation might be formulated in several ways, none of which seems obviously the correct one at the present time.¹⁶

Sentences 77-95 have a direct object and as such may undergo the passive transformation. However, they have a more complicated structure of the type $NP_1 + Aux + Vt_{comp.} + NP_2$ where the complement completes the transitive verb, e.g.

92. They made him the scapegoat \longrightarrow
 $NP_1 + Aux + V + NP_2 + comp.$ \longrightarrow
 $X_1 + X_2 - X_3 - X_4 - (X_3)$ \longrightarrow

He was made the scapegoat by them.
 $NP_2 + Aux + BE \{-N\} + V + comp.$ $+ by - NP_1$
 $X_4 - X_2 + BE \{-N\} + X_3$ $+ by - X_1$

Sentences 96-120 were all marked passive in voice. Each of these sentences may be retransformed into a corresponding active sentence. In sentences 96-109, the direct object has become the subject of the passive sentence, e.g.

¹⁶Roberts, English Syntax, p. 196.

104. This photo was taken by my brother \longrightarrow
 $\text{NP}_2 \quad + \text{Aux} + \text{BE} \{-N\} + \text{V} + \text{by} + \text{NP}_1 \quad \longrightarrow$

My brother took this photo.
 $\text{NP}_1 \quad + \text{Aux} + \text{V} + \text{NP}_2$

Sentences 107 and 108 have the structure

$\text{NP}_1 + \text{Aux} + \text{Vt}_{\text{comp.}} + \text{NP}_2 \longrightarrow \text{NP}_2 + \text{Aux} + \text{BE} \{-N\} \text{Vt}_{\text{comp.}} + \text{by} + \text{NP}_1.$

Sentences 109-119 are of the type which have a direct and an indirect object. The indirect object has been made the subject in each of them (possibly by a process similar to that shown on pp. 40-41 of this thesis), with the exception of 117 which can be retransformed in the usual way.

CHAPTER IV

THE RUSSIAN VERB

4.0. The grammatical categories in Russian are not fixed. The components and markers of one category may fluctuate between several categories and as such, may have different functions in sentences, although their form remains constant. In addition, the analysis is further complicated because "...the Russian verb has the richest system of grammatical categories, including person, tense, mood (shifters), voice, aspect, number and gender (non-shifters)".¹ This chapter will, however, attempt to delineate the morphemic units which could be used as grammatical markers in order to arrive at a possible analysis of the verb phrase.

4.1. The full verbs of Russian also have finite and non-finite forms, where only the finite ones may function independently after the subject. The finite forms of the verbs function in two tenses, the Preterit

¹ Edward Stankiewicz, "The Interdependence of Paradigmatic and Derivational Patterns," Word, XVIII (1962), p. 13.

and the Present.² In order to arrive at a basis for the various inflections of the verb, the following divisions should be assumed for the verb base and its affixes: a prefix (single or compound), stem,³ and a desinence⁴ which may be made up of several components--an aspect marker, a non-terminal and terminal ending, and possibly a postfix. Jakobson states that "...all the Preterit Finite forms and the Infinitive are built up on consonantal desinences, all the Present Finite forms and the Imperative on vocalic desinences"⁵ in discussing simple verbs with unprefixes stems, and a glance at regular verbs with prefixes shows that his observation holds true for them, also. Jakobson, however, also presents a list of exceptions which include single deviating forms, discrepancies in stem formation and stress, and verbs which possess anomalous paradigms.

Since the desinences mark the tense, person, number, and mood of the verbs, their review in finite and

²R. Jakobson, "Russian Conjugation," Word, IV (1948), p. 155.

³STEM is made up of a STEM + STEM FORMANT.

⁴Jakobson, loc. cit.

⁵Jakobson, op. cit., p. 157.

non-finite forms of verbs is essential. Table III shows the finite and non-finite forms of the full verbs in Russian. In each case the stem represents an underlying base form which, through various rules governing morphophonemic changes, could generate the required output form. In turn, the finite and non-finite forms are grouped on the basis of the dichotomy between vocalic and consonantal desinences, which Jakobson feels "is the pivotal principle of the Russian conjugational pattern."⁶

TABLE III

FINITE FORMS

Vocalic Desinence

Present

{STEM} +	-u	-∅	1 Sg.
	i~o	-š	2 Sg.
	i~o	-t	3 Sg.
	i~o	-m	1 Pl.
	i~o	-t'i	2 Pl.
	a~u	-t	3 Pl.
	non-terminal	terminal	

Imperative

STEM +	-i / {Cpal. Double Cons. Stressed Stem}	
	-∅ / Elsewhere	+ t'i
	Singular	Plural

⁶Jakobson, op. cit., p. 155.

Consonantal Desinence

Preterit		-∅	Masc. Sg. ⁷
{STEM} + {-l-} +		-a	Fem. Sg.
		-o	Neut. Sg.
		-i	Plural

NON-FINITE FORMS

Vocalic Desinence

Present Gerund {STEM} + /-a/

Active Participle {STEM} + /-ušš/ + /-ij~aja~ija~ija/

Passive Participle

{STEM} + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-om/Unstressed STEM} \\ \text{-im/Elsewhere} \end{array} \right\} + /-ij~aja~aji~ija/$

Consonantal Desinence

Preterit Gerund

{STEM} + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-š i / C —} \\ \text{-f(š i) / V —} \end{array} \right\}$

Active Participle

{STEM} + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-š / C —} \\ \text{-fš / V —} \end{array} \right\} + /-ij~aja~ija~ija/$

Passive Participle

{STEM} + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{-n/ -a, aj —} \\ \text{-t/ V —} \\ \text{-on/Unstressed Stem —} \\ \text{-in/Elsewhere} \end{array} \right\} + /-ij~aja~aji~ija/$ ⁸

⁷/-l-/ is dropped in the masculine singular if the {STEM} ends in a consonant, and it becomes palatalized if the terminal ending is /-i/.

⁸Mixed vocalic and consonantal desinences occur only in the Preterit Passive Participle. {STEM} ending in /j, v, n, m/ drops this final phoneme in order to add a consonantal desinence, /-n/ after /-a, -aj/, otherwise a /-t/.

Infinitive

$$\{\text{STEM}\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} -\text{č} / C_{\text{vel.}} - \\ -\text{t}'\text{i} / \text{Unstressed Stem} \\ -\text{t}' / \text{Elsewhere} \end{array} \right\}^9$$

4.1.1. Finite forms of full verbs appearing initially in the verb phrase may be combined with another full verb in its infinitive shape, e.g.

Я хочу читать книгу.

Он решил заговорить.

Он хотел заговорить.

Он хочет писать.

Я сяду писать письмо.

As in English, the finite form of the first verb could be regarded as a catenative. If we take $\{-1\}$ as the marker of the past tense and $\{-t\}$ as that of the present, the structures of the verb phrase in English and Russian are identical, except for the fact that the Russian infinitive is inflected and that of English is periphrastic, e.g.

ENGLISH

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -S \\ -D \end{array} \right\} \text{VERB} + \frac{(\text{to}/\text{---VERB})}{\text{Infinitive}}$$

RUSSIAN

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -t \\ -1 \end{array} \right\} \text{STEM} + \frac{\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -t' \\ -t'\text{i} \\ -\text{č} \end{array} \right\} \text{STEM}}{\text{Infinitive}}$$

⁹This table has mostly been compiled from Jakobson, op. cit., pp. 155-163.

Another observation on the similarity of the two structures is that both perfective and imperfective verbs in Russian may act as catenatives, and the infinitive may also be perfective or imperfective, in both English and Russian:

Я хочу читать книгу.
 $\{-t\}$ STEM + $\{-t'\}$ STEM

I want to read a book.
 $\{-S\}$ VERB+to+VERB

Я хочу прочитать книгу... I want to have read the book...
 $\{-t\}$ STEM + Pref. + $\{-t'\}$ STEM $\{-S\}$ VERB+to+HAVE $\{-N\}$ VERB

4.2. The whole question of the existence of auxiliary verbs or modals in Russian seems to be rather vague, and as yet, still unresolved. Isačenko, basing his argument on a diachronic analysis, claims that auxiliary verbs have completely disappeared, that no category of auxiliary verbs exists in modern Russian, and he refuses to admit that there is a distinction or opposition between such forms as Я буду писать and Я сяду писать.¹⁰

¹⁰А. Issatchenko [sic], "Tense and Auxiliary Verbs in Slavic," Language, XVI (1940), p. 196.

Trager, specifically contradicting Isačenko's stand, tries to establish two full and two defective auxiliaries for Russian.¹¹ Others remain undecided or "doubtful."¹² Traditional grammar maintains a neutral position on this question, and simply refers to them as "modal particles."¹³

For the purposes of this study, however, a working hypothesis should be established for the structural composition of the verb phrase in Russian. In order to achieve this, a syntactic framework will be filled in with various forms, and their structure will be compared. The frames will be set up for persons in masculine gender only, the main verb will be pisat' and the direct object in the accusative will be pis'mo.

¹¹G. L. Trager, "Auxiliary Verbs in Russian," Language, XVII (1941), p. 152.

¹²A. G. F. Van Holk, The Semantic Spectrum of the Russian Infinitive (Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij N. V., 1953), p. 36.

¹³Grammatika russkogo jazyka, I (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1960), p. 641; B. O. Unbegaun, Russian Grammar (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 229.

Present Imperfective

Я пишу письмо
 Ты пишешь письмо
 Он пишет письмо
 Мы пишем письмо
 Вы пишете письмо
 Они пишут письмо

STRUCTURE $\{-t\}$ STEM

Compound Future

Я буду писать письмо
 Ты будешь писать письмо
 Он будет писать письмо
 Мы будем писать письмо
 Вы будете писать письмо
 Они будут писать письмо

 $\{-t\}$ STEM + $\{-t'\}$ STEM

Past Perfective

Я написал письмо
 Ты написал письмо
 Он написал письмо
 Мы написали письмо
 Вы написали письмо
 Они написали письмо

 $\{-l\}$ + (Pref.) STEM

Conditional Perfective

Я бы написал письмо
 Ты бы написал письмо
 Он бы написал письмо
 Мы бы написали письмо
 Вы бы написали письмо
 Они бы написали письмо

modal_{p.} + $\{-l\}$ (Pref.) STEM

Present Perfective

Я напишу письмо
 Ты напишешь письмо
 Он напишет письмо
 Мы напишем письмо
 Вы напишете письмо
 Они напишут письмо

STRUCTURE $\{-t\}$ + (Pref.) STEM

Past Imperfective

Я писал письмо
 Ты писал письмо
 Он писал письмо
 Мы писали письмо
 Вы писали письмо
 Они писали письмо

 $\{-l\}$ STEM

Conditional

Я бы писал письмо
 Ты бы писал письмо
 Он бы писал письмо
 Мы бы писали письмо
 Вы бы писали письмо
 Они бы писали письмо

modal_{p.} + $\{-l\}$ STEM

The structures of the present and past tenses are similar, and there is no question on their composition. The criterion used for separating a modal from an

auxiliary verb in English was the identity of the form throughout the whole paradigm or the presence of an -s form in the third person singular. The marker of the conditional, бы remains constant in form throughout the paradigm, and as such could be classed as a modal. However, a question of its modal power arises when it is compared with the English, e.g. Would you go with me tomorrow if she comes? Yes, I would, but.... Пошли бы вы со мной завтра, если она придет? Да, я бы пошла, но... The main verb is an optional element in the English sentence, and the modal is powerful enough to stand alone, whereas in Russian it must be accompanied by the verb. As such, it would probably be better to label it as a modal particle rather than a modal verb.

The primary word of the verb phrase in the compound future tense cannot, then, be classed as a modal, since its form differs, depending on its syntactic environment. It should, therefore, be classed as an auxiliary verb. It is quite unique in that it cannot be followed by a perfective infinitive, and this alone could distinguish it functionally from a catenative. The compound future

and present perfective forms compete with each other for future meaning, but neither form is possible in the conditional, e.g.

modal_{p.} + {-1} STEM

modal_{p.} + {-1} (Pref.) STEM

This is a direct contrast to the future and conditional modals of English which are combined with the zero form of the {-S} marker, rather than with those of the past. Thus, буду and its paradigmatic variations should be regarded as auxiliaries on the same level as the aspectual affixes of the perfective verb (present tense), as they cannot be made to function conditionally and still maintain the infinitive form in the verb phrase, which the catenative verb can do, e.g.

Future

Я буду писать письмо.
{-t} AUX + {-t'} STEM

Я могу писать.
{-t} STEM + {-t'} STEM

Я напишу.
{-t} (Pref.) STEM

Я могу написать.
{-t} STEM + {-t'} (Pref.) STEM

*Я буду написать письмо.

Conditional

Я бы писал письмо.
modal_{p.} {-1} STEM

Я мог бы писать...
modal_{p.} {-1} STEM + {-t'} STEM

Я бы написал письмо.
modal_{p.} {-1} (Pref.) STEM

Я мог бы написать...
modal_{p.} {-1} STEM + {-t'} (Pref.) STEM

The argument for equating the auxiliary with the aspectual prefix is further strengthened when one considers that the

aspectual prefix can also be attached only to an imperfective stem. ✓

4.3. In Russian, as in English, the finite forms of a verb signal the tense. The two definite tenses in Russian are the present and the past. As in English, the future tense does not belong to the sphere of reality, but to the sphere of unreality. As such, it could be characterized as having a marked modal shade of meaning,¹⁴ i.e., marked subjunctive rather than indicative as are the present and past tenses. The compound future tense in Russian is made up of the auxiliary БЫТЬ (and its paradigmatic forms) plus the infinitive form of an imperfective verb. The perfective verbs of the present tense also carry a future or modal meaning, e.g. Я напишу письмо сегодня or Я напишу письмо завтра.

The argument could be presented that сегодня and завтра are syntactic future markers, but the meaning is still future without them, e.g. Я напишу письмо. Thus, the two tenses which have future meaning could be regarded as having identical structures, if the modal aspectual prefix and the auxiliary verb were equated at par, and the selection of one or the other form in a sentence

¹⁴W. J. Entwistle, Aspects of Language (London: Faber and Faber, 1953), p. 184.

depended on the "temporal distribution"¹⁵ of the state or action, rather than on the basis of a specific time.

4.3.1. The grammatical category of voice expresses the relations between an actor, the action, and the recipient of the action. For example, in the passive voice

...the person or thing that is the subject of the sentence does not itself perform any action but is acted upon, thus being in fact the object of the action; the real agent of the action is the object in the instrumental, which denotes the performer of the action.¹⁶

As in English, the passive voice in Russian may be considered for transitive verbs only.

The markers of the passive voice consist of the auxiliary forms of the verb byt' and the short form passive participles of perfective verbs. The agent may be expressed in the instrumental, but this is not compulsory. Another way is to affix the postfix -sja to imperfective (and a few perfective) verbs in the present and past tenses. The nominative actor of the

¹⁵C. F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1958), p. 327.

¹⁶A. Vilgelminina, The Russian Verb: Aspect and Voice (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1963), pp. 46-47.

active sentence still remains the actor, but he is designated instrumentally, if he is designated at all. The following sketch summarizes the above requirements for the passive markers within the verb phrase and the repositioning of the noun phrases:

$$NP_1 \text{ nom.} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{pres.} \\ \text{past} \end{array} \right\} V_{\text{perf.}} + NP_2 \text{ acc.} \longrightarrow$$

$$NP_2 \text{ nom.} + \underbrace{\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{fut.} \\ \emptyset \\ \text{past} \end{array} \right\}}_{\text{AUX}} \text{Ps.Pa.V}_{\text{perf.}} + (NP_1 \text{ inst.})$$

$$NP_1 \text{ nom.} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{pres.} \\ \text{past} \end{array} \right\} V_{\text{imp.}} \substack{(\text{perf.})} + NP_2 \text{ acc.} \longrightarrow$$

$$NP_2 \text{ nom.} + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{pres.} \\ \text{past} \end{array} \right\} V_{\text{imp.}} \substack{\{\text{postfix}\} \\ (\text{perf.})} + (NP_1 \text{ inst.})$$

4.4. The components of the Russian verb phrase oscillate between finite and non-finite forms, and as such shift between the levels of inflection and word-formation, e.g., sentences may have a short form passive participle (in agreement with the NP in number and gender) i.e., the passive participle may function without an overtly expressed form of the auxiliary verb. Because of this intersection of paradigmatic and derivational levels, it has been difficult to combine the finite and non-finite forms of the verb phrase into one phrase

structure model. Consequently, the following three verb phrase models are presented for discussion and will serve as markers for verb phrase analysis in sentences:

$$(1) \{-t\} \text{ Aux } \{-t'\} \text{ STEM}_{\text{imp.}}$$

$$(2) \left\{ \begin{matrix} -t \\ (\text{modal}_{\text{p.}}) \end{matrix} \right\} -1 \left\{ (\text{Prefix}) \text{ STEM } (\text{Postfix}) \right\}$$

$$(3) \left\{ \begin{matrix} -t \\ (\text{modal}_{\text{p.}}) \end{matrix} \right\} -1 \left\{ \text{Aux} + \{-N\} (\text{Prefix}) \left\{ \text{STEM} \right\} \right\}$$

4.4.1. The markers for analyses will be as follows:

(1)	1	2	(2)	3	4	5	6
{-t} Aux	{-t'} STEM	{-1}	{-t}	{-t}	{-t}	{-t}	{-t}

(3)	7	8	9
{-1} Aux	{-t} Aux	{-N}	{-N}

The numbers in parentheses refer back to the verb phrase patterns presented above, while the other numbers indicate the named components. If a verb phrase of pattern (1) is analyzed, the spaces 3-8 will remain empty; in a verb phrase of pattern (2), space 4 must be marked "X" if space 3 is marked "1", and vice versa; and in a verb phrase of pattern (3), spaces 7 and 8 may be unmarked (0), as they are both optional elements, but either must be marked "X" when the other is marked "1".

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
		x	1	1	0				<u>Народ любит писателя.</u>
						x	x	1	<u>Писатель любим народом.</u>
		1	x	1	0				<u>Ученик решил задачу.</u>
						x	x	1	<u>Задача решена учеником.</u>
		1	x	1	0				<u>Мальчик разбил чашку.</u>
						x	x	1	<u>Чашка разбита мальчиком.</u>
		1	x	1	1				<u>Чашка разбилась.</u>
		x	1	1	0				<u>Ученик решает задачу.</u>
		x	1	1	1				<u>Задача решается учеником.</u>
		1	x	1	0				<u>Ученик решал задачу.</u>
		1	x	1	1				<u>Задача решалась учеником.</u>
1	1								<u>Ученик будет решать задачу.</u>
		x	1	1	1				<u>Дом строится.</u>
		x	x	1	1				<u>Дом строился.</u>
1	1								<u>Дом будет строиться.</u>
		x	1	1	1				<u>Всё это делается очень просто.</u>
		1	x	1	1				<u>Всё это делалось очень просто.</u>
						x	x	1	<u>Всё сделано.</u>
						1	x	1	<u>Письмо было послано вчера.</u>
						x	1	1	<u>Завтра магазины будут закрыты.</u>
		x	1	1	0				<u>Работник руководит учреждением.</u>
		x	1	1	1				<u>Учреждение руководится работником.</u>
		1	x	1	0				<u>Толпа наполняла комнату.</u>
		1	x	1	1				<u>Комната наполнялась толпой.</u>
		x	1	1	0				<u>Фонарики освещают залу.</u>
		x	1	1	1				<u>Зала освещается фонариками.</u>

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
		1	x	1	1				<u>Иван вернулся стариком.</u>
						0	0	1	<u>Дом построен городом.</u>
						1	x	1	<u>Дом был построен городом.</u>
						x	1	1	<u>Дом будет построен городом.</u>
		1	x	1	1				<u>Я бы переписывалась с ним.</u>
						1	x	1	<u>Дом был бы построен.</u>
		1	x	1	1				<u>Дом бы построился.</u>
1	1								<u>Он будет писать письмо.</u>

CHAPTER V

THE PASSIVE VOICE IN RUSSIAN

5.0. Traditionally, grammarians have maintained the existence of three distinct voices in Russian-- active, middle (reflexive), and passive.¹ At the turn of the century Fortunatov defined voice as "verbal forms which signify differences in the relationship of the sign...denoted by the verbal base to its subject."² Several years later, Potebnja worked on the combinability of a direct object in the accusative with the syntactically determined categories of transitive and intransitive verbs, and this view served as the basis for Šaxmatov's classification,³ which, with only slight modifications, is still presented in the normative Grammatika russkogo jazyka.⁴

¹I. G. Golanov, Morfologija sovremennogo russkogo jazyka (Moskva: "Vyssšaja škola," 1962), p. 160.

²F. F. Fortunatov, "O zalogax russkogo glagola," Izvestija otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk, (1899), p. 1155; cited in I. Lynch, On Russian Verbal Voice: The -sja Verbs (Cambridge: Radcliffe College unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, 1955), p. 5.

³Lynch, op. cit., pp. 6-8; Golanov, op. cit., pp. 165-166.

⁴Grammatika..., pp. 411-413.

5.1. Only the transitive verbs will be regarded as having active voice, and they will be subdivided according to their aspects. Imperfective transitive verbs may be accommodated in a passive transform by the addition of -sja. Perfective transitive verbs in active sentences are usually transformed by the required form of the auxiliary verb byt' and the short form of the past passive participle. The short form of the present passive participle may occasionally occur, but this construction is limited. Some perfective transitive verbs may also be transformed by the addition of -sja. The agent is often omitted in the transforms; otherwise, the agent appears in the instrumental case. The markers alone, however, cannot determine the passivity of a sentence. Voice can best be determined by the rendition of sentences into active and passive transforms, or into agnate pairs.

5.2. The passive transformation applied to the Russian active sentences in this section will basically follow the procedure outlined in 3.2.1. of this thesis, but with slight modifications: NP_1 should always appear in the nominative case, and NP_2 in the accusative; in the transform, NP_2 should appear in the nominative, and NP_1 in the instrumental, if it is designated; Aux will include the person, number, gender, and tense markers.

The passive markers in the resulting transform will include -sja for imperfective verbs, and $\begin{Bmatrix} -sja \\ \text{Ps.Pa.} \end{Bmatrix}$ for perfective verbs. Thus, the passive transformation may be presented as follows:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{NP}_1 \text{ nom.} & - & \text{Aux} & - & \text{V}_{\text{imp.}} & - & \text{NP}_2 \text{ acc.} & \longrightarrow \\ \hline \text{X}_1 & & - & \text{X}_2 & - & \text{X}_3 & - & \text{X}_4 & \longrightarrow \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{NP}_2 \text{ nom.} & - & \text{Aux+V}_{\text{imp.}} & - & \text{-sja} & - & \text{NP}_1 \text{ inst.} & \\ \hline \text{X}_4 & & - & \text{X}_2 & - & \text{X}_3 & & - & \text{X}_1 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{NP}_1 \text{ nom.} & - & \text{Aux} & - & \text{V}_{\text{perf.}} & - & \text{NP}_2 \text{ acc.} & \longrightarrow \\ \hline \text{X}_1 & & - & \text{X}_2 & - & \text{X}_3 & - & \text{X}_4 & \longrightarrow \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{NP}_2 \text{ nom.} & - & \text{Aux} & + & \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{V}_{\text{perf.}} \text{ -sja} \\ \text{Ps.Pa.} \text{ V}_{\text{perf.}} \end{array} \right\} & - & \left(\text{NP}_1 \text{ inst.} \right) & \\ \hline -\text{X}_4 & & - & \text{X}_2 & - & \text{X}_3 & & - & \text{X}_1 \end{array}$$

In many instances, the auxiliary verb may be omitted and the passive participle will take on the function of a finite verb form.

5.3. The general procedure of analysis will be similar to that employed for the English sentences. Because of the unreliability of the passive markers in Russian and the overlapping of passive constructions

in the perfective transitive verbs, the analysis of the NP's was included in the matrices accompanying the data. The matrix is divided into four pairs or eight categories, but only one category of each pair may be marked, e.g.

NP		VERB		PASS.MARKER		NP	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
anim.	inan.	Imperf.	Perf.	-sja	Ps.Pa.	anim.	inan.

In the active sentences, the passive blanks will remain unmarked (00).

5.3.1. The following sentences⁵ are presented as data for discussion:

⁵H. W. Dewey and J. Mersereau, Jr., Reading and Translating Contemporary Russian (New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1963); Golanov, op. cit.; A. S. Bednjakov and A. S. Matijčenko, Russkij jazyk, I, II (Moskva: Učpedgiz, 1962); Vilgelminina, op cit.; Grammatika..., II; D. S. Worth, "Transform Analysis of Russian Instrumental Constructions," Word, XIV (1958), pp. 247-383.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	I. Она была ужасно голодна.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2. Алексей Иванович Пырин был замкнутым и неразговорчивым человеком.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3. Жена отрицательно покачала головой.
1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	4. Братья переписываются.
1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	5. Няня умывает ребёнка.
1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	6. Отец провожает детей в школу.
1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	7. Дети собираются в школу.
1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	8. Иван вернулся стариком.
1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	9. Борис вернулся вечером.
1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	10. Студент ударился ножом.
1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	II. Капитан командует батальоном.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	I2. Иван покачал головой.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	I3. Он повел бровями.
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	I4. Он говорил низким тоном.
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	I5. Он кричал громким голосом.
0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	I6. Научные институты СССР изучают конкретные проблемы местных хозяйств.
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	I7. Учёные научных институтов выводят лучшие сорта хлопка.
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	I8. Демократическая молодёжь всех стран поёт песни о мире.
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	I9. Колхозники обсуждали план посевной кампании.
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	20. Я буду проводить линию партии.
1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	21. Я считаю его дураком.
0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	22. Шторм выбросил сети с рыбой на берег.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	23. Рыба заполнила трюм и палубу.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	24. Мы выполним план семилетки раньше срока.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	25. Хозяйка купила хлеб.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	26. Ямщик остановил усталую тройку у ворот единственного каменного дома.
0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	27. Густой беловатый туман окутал город.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	28. На другой день получили второе письмо от Кати.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	29. Мы получили телеграмму.
1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	30. Они выбрали его президентом.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	31. Он закрыл дверь рукой.
0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	32. Автомобиль переехал отца.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	33. Рабочие покрыли улицу асфальтом.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	34. Тетя наделила меня наследством.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	35. Он удивил нас ответом.
0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	36. Такие химические растворы часто встречаются.
0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	37. Это явление редко встречается.
0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	38. Книга читается нами.
0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	39. Детская библиотека посещается многими школьниками.
1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	40. Я восхваляюсь друзьями.
0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	41. Бумаги переписываются.
0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	42. Книги собираются в ящики.
0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	43. Чины людьми даются.
0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	44. Луга залились водой.
1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	45. Он всеми уважаем.
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	46. Подвиги героев восхваляемы поэтами.
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	47. Белая древесина покрыта густым слоем смолы.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	48. Всё небо затянуто серой тучей.
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	49. Земля оросилась первыми каплями дождя.
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	50. Вершины далёких гор окутаны туманом.
0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	51. Карта района составлена юными путешественниками.
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	52. Роспись на стенах и потолке сделана искусной рукой мастера.
0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	53. Приглашение это было охотно принято.
0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	54. Подлинный текст этого сообщения был получен второго декабря.
0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	55. Это важное открытие было сделано в 1939-м году.
1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	56. Он был глубоко тронут проявлением гуманности этого народа.
1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	57. В 1745-м году М.В. Ломоносов был избран академиком.
0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	58. Исследование было начато одним из нас в июне этого года.
0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	59. Книги прочитаны и возвращены в библиотеку.
0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	60. Задача была решена учеником.
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	61. К утру все деревья в лесу были усыпаны пушистым белым снегом.
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	62. Воздух был накален жаркими лучами летнего солнца.
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	63. Земля усыпана сухими разноцветными листьями.
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	64. Невысокие берега Волги покрыты зелёным ковром лугов и кустарников.
1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	65. Гости радушно были встречены хозяином.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	66. Все покрыто было снегом.
0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	67. Морская поверхность была покрыта кипящей белой пеной.
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	68. Они производят полезный опыт в лаборатории.
0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	69. Полезный опыт производится ими в лаборатории.
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	70. Я в тысячный раз переживаю этот ужасный день.
0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	71. Этот ужасный день переживается мною в тысячный раз.
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	72. Толпа наполняла комнату.
0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	73. Комната наполнялась толпой.
0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	74. Несколько морей омывают берега Советского Союза.
0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	75. Берега Советского Союза омываются несколькими морями.
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	76. Бухгалтер составляет смету.
0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	77. Смета составляется бухгалтером.
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	78. Шахтёры выполняют план.
0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	79. План выполняется шахтёрами.
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	80. В шесть часов передают по радио последние известия.
0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	81. Последние известия передаются по радио в шесть часов.
0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	82. Шторм разогнал косяки рыбы.
1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	83. Косяки рыбы были разогнаны штормом.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	84. Они произвели полезный опыт в лаборатории.
0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	85. Полезный опыт был произведён ими в лаборатории.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	86. Мы создали всё здесь.
0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	87. Всё здесь создано нами.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	88. Учитель принёс в класс сборник стихов Маяковского.
0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	89. Сборник стихов Маяковского был принесён учителем в класс.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	90. Рыбаки вытащили сеть на берег.
0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	91. Сеть вытащена рыбаками на берег.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	92. Эту картину написал местный художник.
0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	93. Эта картина была написана местным художником.
1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	94. Работник руководит учреждением.
0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	95. Учреждение руководится работником.
1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	96. Толпа наполнила комнату.
0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	97. Комната наполнилась толпой.

5.3.2. Sentences 1-15 are not passive transforms even though some of them (with the exception of 1, 5, 6) contain one or more markers of the passive voice--sja, passive participle, or an oblique complement in the instrumental. If the passive transformation is applied to sentence 5, which fulfills the requirements of the kernel string--NP₁ nom. - Aux - V_{imp.} - NP₂ acc.-- the resulting transform, *Ребенок умывается няней is grammatically rejected. Even by regarding the instrumental complement as optional, the meaning of the transform is quite different from that of the original sentence. Thus, 5 cannot be regarded as an active sentence. Sentence 9 is intransitive, thus unmarked in voice, and has an adverbial complement of time in the instrumental construction.

Sentences 16-21 contain a transitive, imperfective verb and may undergo the passive transformation, e.g.

20. Я буду проводить линию партии

NP ₁ nom	-Aux	- V _{imp.}	-NP ₂ acc.
X ₁	- X ₂	- X ₃	- X ₄

Линия партии будет проводиться мною.

NP ₂ nom.	-Aux+V _{imp.} -sja	- NP ₁ inst.
X ₄	- X ₂ + X ₃ -sja	- X ₁

Sentences 22-35 are active constructions containing perfective verbs. With the exception of 35, each one may undergo the passive transformation using - Aux + Ps.Pa.V_{perf.} --e.g.

27. Густой беловатый туман окутал город.

NP₁ nom. -Aux -V_{perf.} -NP₂ acc.

Город был окутан густым беловатым туманом.

NP₂ nom. -Aux+Ps.Pa.V_{perf.} - NP₁ inst.

Some of the transforms, e.g., those of 25 and 32 may appear strange, but they are grammatically sound and could be used in certain emphatic contexts, e.g.,

25. Хлеб был куплен хозяйкой, а не кем-то другим!

32. Отец был переехан автомобилем, а не поездом!

Sentence 35 is a rather rare example of the perfective transitive verb which takes the -sja formation in its passive transform, rather than the more usual combination of the auxiliary verb and the short form of the passive participle, e.g. Мы удивились. . .

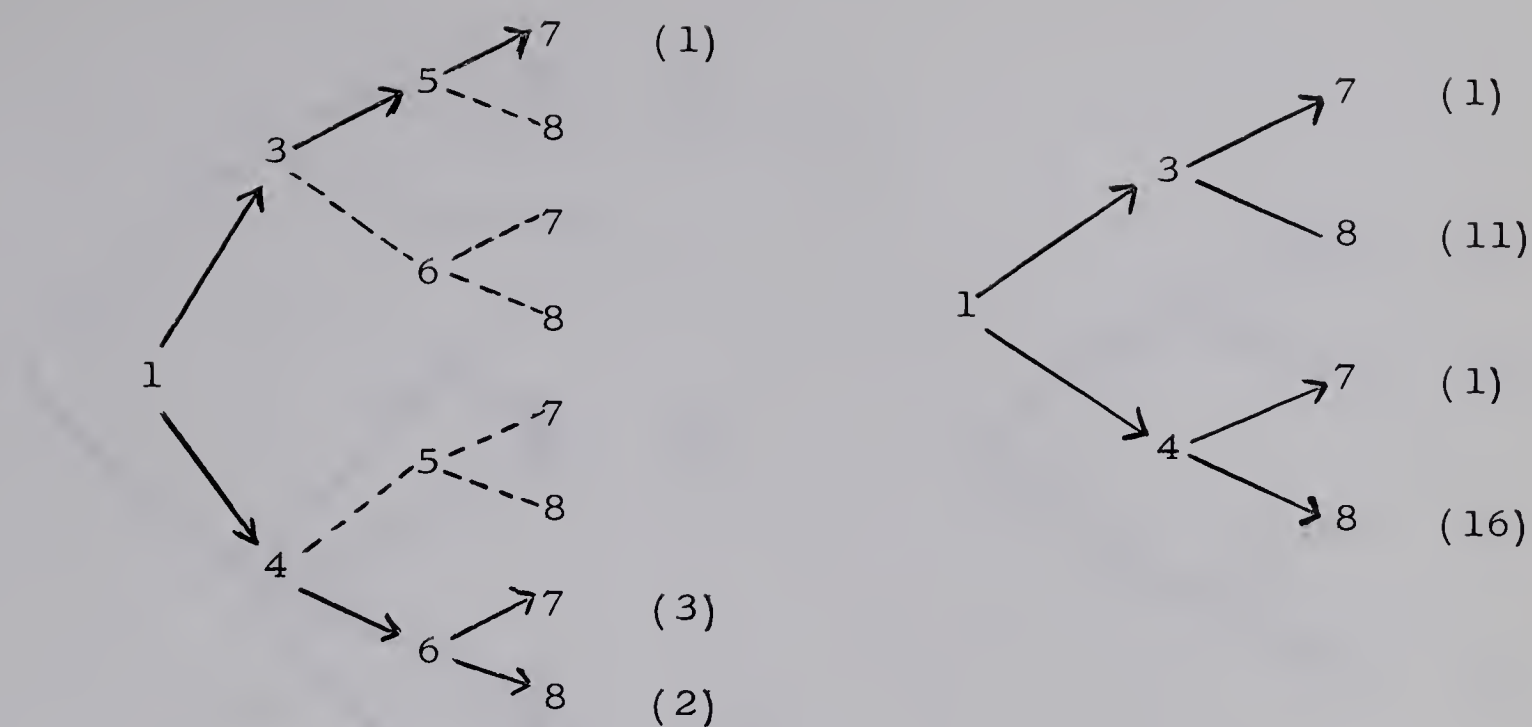
Sentences 36-44 are passive transforms of active strings having an imperfective transitive verb. The agent is not indicated in some of them (36, 37, 41, 42), as the addition of -sja has made the verbs intransitive.

Sentences 45-67 are passive transforms of active sentences containing perfective transitive verbs.

Sentences 45 and 46 contain the short form of the present

passive participle, since the tense of the active sentence was marked present, and the active \longleftrightarrow passive transformation in Russian (as well as in English) maintains the marked tense of the active sentence. Short forms of present passive participles are used rarely. Sentences 47-67 are passive transforms containing the auxiliary verb and the past passive participle (short form) in the verb phrase, and the agent is specified in most of them. The agent is unspecified in sentences 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59; in these contexts it would be completely unnecessary to name him.

Sentences 68-97 comprise pairs of agnate constructions--the even numbers are the active strings and the odd numbers are the passive transforms. Sentences 68-81 contain imperfective transitive verbs which are transformed passively by the addition of -sja. Sentences 82-93 have active perfective verbs; the transforms contain the auxiliary verb and the short form of the passive participle, while sentences 94-97 (also containing perfective verbs) make use of the alternative -sja form in the passive counterparts. In addition, the agnate sentences also have adverbial complements of time (80-81) or place (68-69).



PASSIVE

ACTIVE

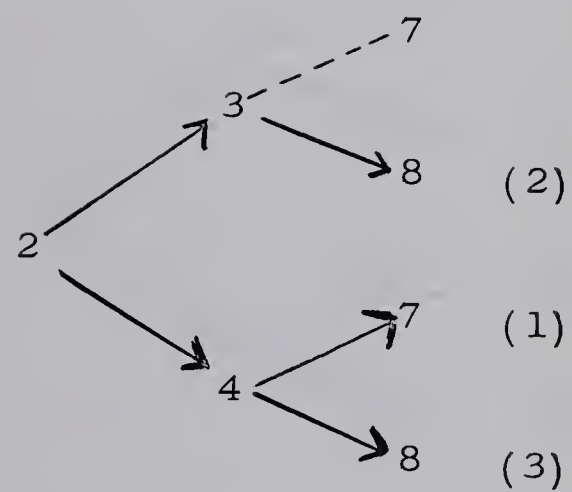
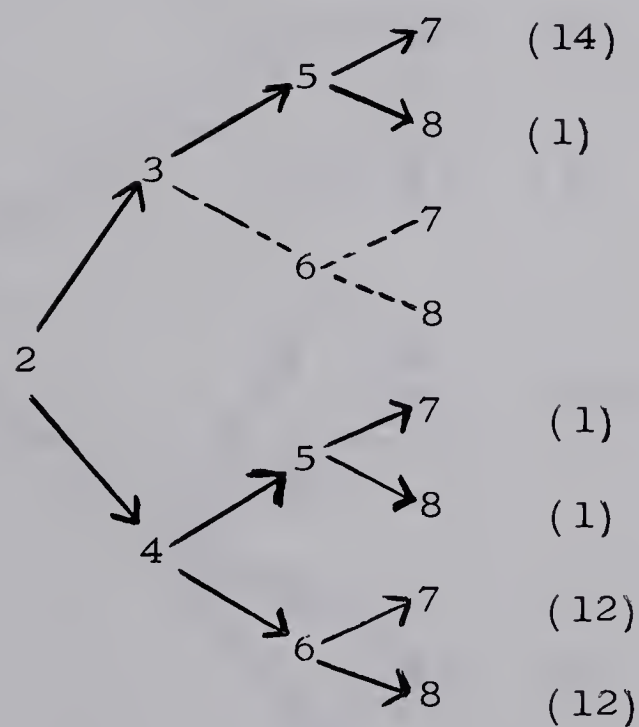
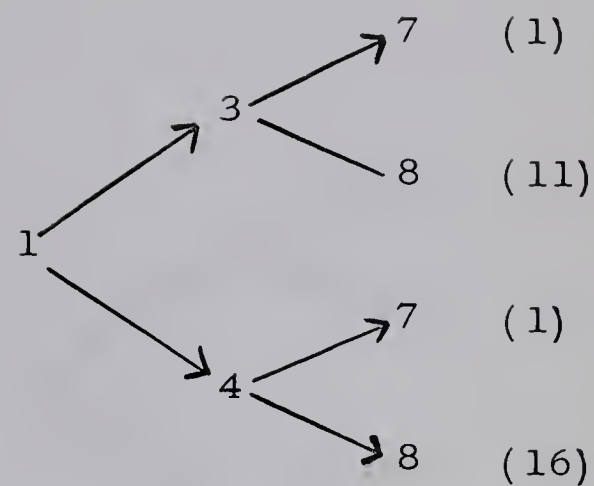
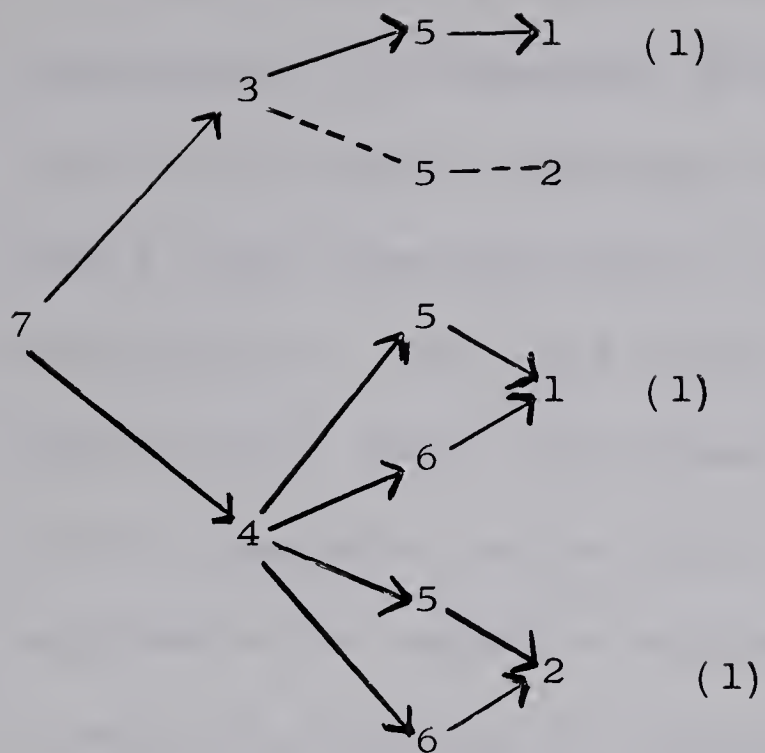
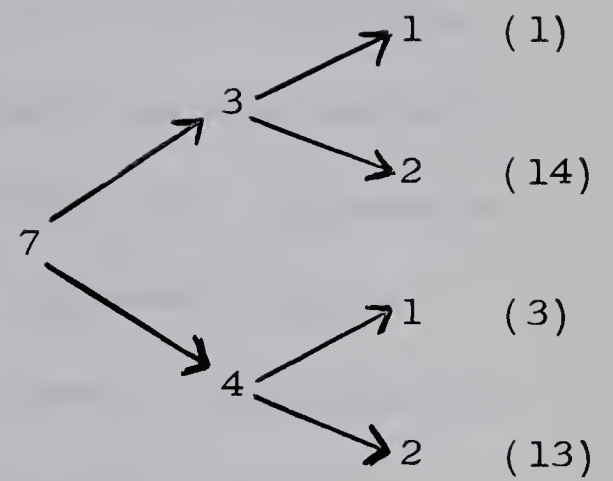


Figure 1. Summarized Sentence Patterns



ACTIVE TO PASSIVE



PASSIVE TO ACTIVE

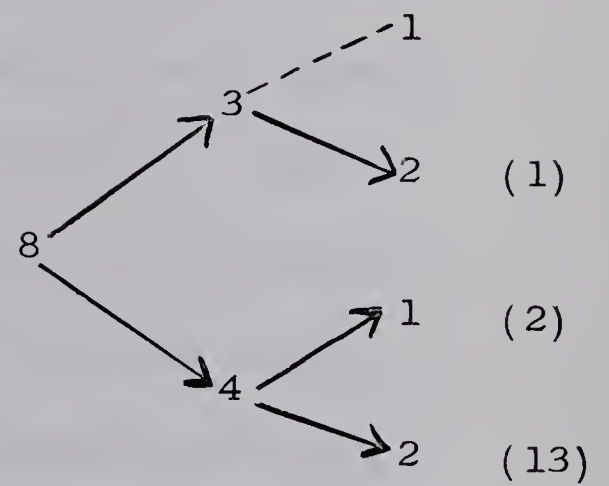
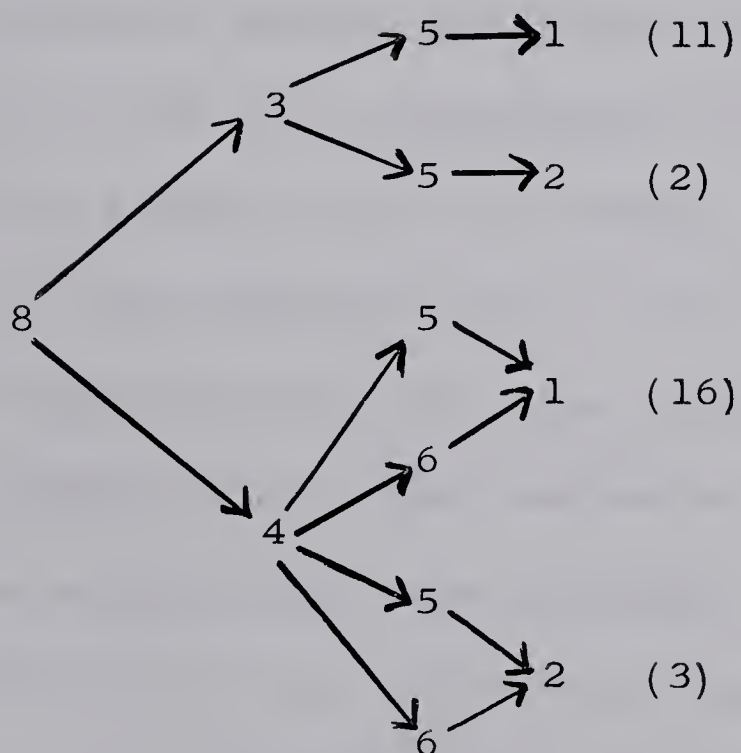


Figure 2. Transformed Patterns

5.4. Figure 1 statistically summarizes the possible combinations of components which are contained in sentences 16-97 of the data. Although only 82 sentences have been used in this limited survey, nonetheless certain patterns are revealed. The solid lines illustrate the represented combinations, while the broken lines represent non-existent patterns in the data. The number in parentheses represents the number of sentences for each combination. In both NP₂ branches of the passive transforms, the 6--7 and 6--8 configurations have no entries simply because of the impossibility of an imperfective verb (3) having a passive participle in the short form. The 5--7 and 5--8 configuration has no entries for animate NP₂'s, while only one example is given for each branch of this configuration in the inanimate NP₂'s. With regard to the solid line configurations, the foremost observation is that sentences using the animate NP₂'s are much rarer than sentences using inanimate NP₂'s. The 2--3--5--7, 2--4--6--7, and 2--4--6--8 combinations are the most abundant. The 2--3--5--8 combination is rare since it means that NP₂ and NP₁ are both inanimate. In Russian, the construction of an inanimate object being acted upon by an inanimate agent is preferably avoided.

In the active strings of figure 1, it is not surprising that the animate NP₁'s are much more abundant than the inanimate NP₁'s, as they are more suitable agents of action. Similarly, the inanimate NP₂'s are more likely to be the recipients of action and are therefore more numerous than the animate NP₂'s. The combination 1--3--7 is rare (e.g. 94) because the imperfective verbs of this type usually require a complement in the instrumental (e.g. 11) and cannot undergo the passive transformation.

Figure 2 shows the resulting statistics when the active sentences are converted to passive and vice versa. It is seen that the converted sentences have a similar distribution of structures with the exception of the NP_{inanim.} + V_{perf.} + NP_{inanim.} (8--4--2), which are more numerous than the equivalent 2--4--8 strings. This would indicate that when both NP's are inanimate, and the verb is perfective, the passive construction is preferable.

CHAPTER VI

A COMPARISON OF PASSIVE TRANSFORMS

6.0. In order to carry out a comparison of the types of passive transforms contained in the English and Russian data, parallel structures in each language will be aligned, and conclusions will be drawn.

6.1. Corresponding passive transforms exist between the English sentence model

$$(1) \text{ NP}_2 \left\{ \begin{matrix} (\text{modal}) & -S \\ & -D \end{matrix} \right\} \left(\text{HAVE } \{-N\} \right) \text{ BE } \{-N\} \text{ VERB} + (\text{by} + \text{NP}_1)$$

and the Russian sentence model

$$(2) \text{ NP}_2 \text{ nom.} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{budet} \\ \emptyset \\ \text{byl } (\underline{\text{by}}) \end{matrix} \right\} & \text{Ps.Pa.V}_{\text{perf.}} \\ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{pres.} \\ \text{past}(\underline{\text{by}}) \end{matrix} \right\} & \text{V}_{\text{perf.}} -\text{sja} \end{matrix} \right\} + (\text{NP}_1 \text{ inst.})$$

of which the following string structures and sample sentences are representatives:

Inanimate $\left\{ \begin{matrix} -S \\ -D \end{matrix} \right\}$ BE $\{-N\}$ VERB by Animate

Golf is played by John.

Inanimate $\left\{ \begin{matrix} -S \\ -D \end{matrix} \right\}$ HAVE $\{-N\}$ BE $\{-N\}$ VERB by Animate

It had been talked over by us.

Inanimate $\{ \text{Aux} + \text{Ps.Pa.V}_{\text{perf.}} \}$ + Animate_{inst.}

Карта района составлена юными путешественниками.

Inanimate $\begin{Bmatrix} -S \\ -D \end{Bmatrix}$ BE $\{-N\}$ VERB by Inanimate

The water was absorbed by the sponge.

Inanimate $\begin{Bmatrix} -S \\ -D \end{Bmatrix}$ HAVE $\{-N\}$ BE $\{-N\}$ VERB by Inanimate

The water has been absorbed by the sponge.

Inanimate $\{Aux + Ps.Pa.V_{perf.}\} + Inanimate_{inst.}$

Всё небо затянуто серой тучей.

Animate $\begin{Bmatrix} -S \\ -D \end{Bmatrix}$ BE $\{-N\}$ VERB by Animate

Sam was hit by father.

Animate $\begin{Bmatrix} -S \\ -D \end{Bmatrix}$ HAVE $\{-N\}$ BE $\{-N\}$ VERB by Animate

Sam has been forgiven by father.

Animate $\{Aux + Ps.Pa.V_{perf.}\} + (Animate_{inst.})$

В 1745-м году М.В. Ломоносов был избран академиком.

Animate $\begin{Bmatrix} -S \\ -D \end{Bmatrix}$ BE $\{-N\}$ VERB by Inanimate

Father was killed by a train.

Animate $\begin{Bmatrix} -S \\ -D \end{Bmatrix}$ HAVE $\{-N\}$ BE $\{-N\}$ VERB by Inanimate

Father has been killed by a train.

Animate $+ \{Aux + Ps.Pa.V_{perf.}\} + Inanimate_{inst.}$

Он был глубоко тронут проявлением гуманности этого народа.

One Russian form grammatically corresponds to two English forms. If a translation is attempted from Russian into English, the choice of one or the other form can only be stylistically determined according to its position in a larger contextual framework. The use of the passive participle and the auxiliary verb (a few exceptional perfective verbs use the postfix -sja) in Russian

corresponds to the simple and perfective English tenses. In addition, passive formations may be constructed with the conditional particle by in the regular formation, or with the -sja postfix of the perfective verb. These forms correspond to the English conditionals which function on the same string as the future tense in English.

Passive structures in Russian which contain imperfective verbs may be equated to the English string model

$$(3) \text{ NP}_2 \left\{ \begin{matrix} (\text{modal}) & -S \\ & -D \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ HAVE } \{-N\} \text{ BE } \{-ING\} \text{ BE } \{-N\} \text{ VERB} + \text{ by NP}_1$$

This string handles the simple tenses in which the aspect of time is irrelevant; the progressive tenses; and the perfect progressive tenses, which are rarely used but are still functional in certain contexts, e.g. I have been being misrepresented by my lawyer; or I would have been being married by the preacher at this very moment. Grammatically sound passive sentences may be derived from the corresponding string model for Russian

$$(4) \text{ NP}_2 \text{ nom.}^+ \left[\begin{matrix} \text{budet} + -t' \\ \left\{ \begin{matrix} -t \\ -l \text{ (by)} \end{matrix} \right\} \end{matrix} \right] \left\{ V_{\text{imp.}} -sja \right\} + (\text{NP}_1 \text{ inst.})$$

e.g. Книга читается нами.

Берега Советского Союза омываются несколькими морями.

In string models (3) and (4), one Russian form corresponds to three English forms, but fortunately, the perfective progressive string is so rarely used in English that it may be regarded as practically non-existent. The following sentences will serve as examples which show the points of interaction between the two language systems, taking the two active sentences--
The engineer stopped the train; and Лакей остановил тройку.

(1) The train was stopped (by the engineer).

The train had been stopped (by the engineer).

(2) Тройка была остановлена (лакеем).

(3) The train was stopped.

(4) Тройка остановилась.

(3) The train was being stopped.

The train had been being stopped by the engineer when....

(4) Тройка останавливалась.

In addition, Тройка остановилась is equivalent to the English The train stopped; which is not regarded as a passive transform, as it is devoid of the passive marker BE {N}. Furthermore, Russian passive constructions with imperfective verbs are rarely used, even though they contain a theoretical degree of grammaticality. In translating English structures from string model (3)

to Russian, the passive representation is the least probable, and the sentence would be rendered either actively or impersonally,¹ e.g. He was given a book → Ему дали книгу. Russian passive constructions are further limited by the fact that certain verbal paradigms have syntagmatic restrictions, i.e., the system of the language obliges them to take an oblique complement. Syntagmas of this type may not be transformed passively, but certain unique verbs with oblique complements may still be transformed passively, e.g., Работник руководит учреждением → Учреждение руководится (работником). Sometimes the odd verb in these oblique complement types may take an accusative complement, and as such, may undergo the passive transformation successfully, e.g., Друзья меня восхваляют → Я восхваляюсь друзьями.

Transforms may be obtained from certain transitive verbs of motion, e.g. 32: Отец был переехан автомобилем, а не поездом!, but their distribution is limited.²

¹N. B. Aristov, Osnovy perevoda (Moskva: Izd. literatury na inostrannykh jazykax, 1959), p. 48.

²Mrs. O. Martyanova, an exchange graduate teaching assistant from the Ukrainian S.S.R., informs us that this and many other passive transforms presented in the data are grammatically acceptable, but would rarely, if ever, be used.

English and Russian sentences of the type We elected John president → John was elected president (by us); and Они выбрали его президентом → Он был выбран президентом may be transformed successfully. However, the retransformation of the Russian sentence may produce two active sentences, Президент его выбрал and Они выбрали его президентом. There is no ambiguity if the agent is specified in the transform, but since its specification is an optional element, the resulting two active strings indicate that the kernel must be contained in a deeper underlying structure. This would also explain the difficulty encountered in transforming English sentences which contain both an indirect and a direct object.³

6.3. This study has been concentrated on grammatical structures of the passive voice in English and in Russian. That which is theoretically possible, however, is not always practically acceptable. This interrelation of syntax and semantics, i.e., the relation of signs to signs and the relation of signs to meanings, is directly dependent on the way that people

³See 3.3.3. of this thesis.

use them. One psycholinguistic study⁴ has shown that while the properties of active and passive sentences are basically similar, passive structures have certain constraints in their selection of subject and object.⁵ These constraints in passive structures may account for many passive sentences of the type В 1745-м году М.В. Ломоносов был избран академиком, in which the agent is unspecified and unnecessary. Passive sentences of this type are also set patterns in English, e.g., Radium was discovered in 1898.

When the optional components of the verb phrase models are employed, passive transformation becomes less probable. Even though sentences can be paired agnately, it is uncertain whether the passive is transformed from the active, or whether they are both transformations of a deeper structure. The latter seems to be the more plausible conclusion.

Language and the use of language are two different studies based on one and the same material.

⁴Herbert H. Clark, "Some Structural Properties of Simple Active and Passive Sentences," Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior, IV (1965), pp. 365-370.

⁵This also showed up in the Russian data, see 5.4. of this thesis.

Miller summarizes the interrelationships of these linguistic levels in the following way:

...at the lowest level it is necessary to understand the syntactic structure; then it becomes possible to understand its semantic content; and at the top, after both structural analysis and semantic comprehension are achieved, pragmatic acceptance or rejection...is possible.⁶

⁶George A. Miller, "Language and Psychology," New Directions in the Study of Learning, ed. Eric H. Lenneberg (Cambridge: The M. I. T. Press, 1964), pp. 91-92.

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